Why Dulles Should Have Fired Himself Instead of John Carter Vincent, Page Two

# I. F. Stone's Weekly

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## How Ike Earned His Afternoon Off

In England the equivalent of our State of the Union message is couched in the form of an Address from the Throne. Everyone knows that this is a fiction, and no one wastes time trying to infer from it the *Weltanschaung* of the reigning monarch. But much nonsense is generated here when the President, instead of being a governing personality, is like Eisenhower, a figure-head. In England, the Address from the Throne is fashioned by the Prime Minister, representing the majority party. Here, however, the President being both chief of state and head of the government, there is no Prime Minister. When the President does not govern there is no way to figure out who, if anybody, was responsible for the State of the Union message and the policy decisions reflected in it. Who is "Eisenhower," that is the Eisenhower in whose name all this is spoken? No one really knows.

The press, being almost entirely Republican, the President has an overwhelming claque. The respectable pundits never permit themselves to see that this (Washington's best-known and best-kept secret) is a king as naked of ideas as a new-born babe. Nobody must be more surprised than the likeably unpretentious and modest Eisenhower himself to read next morning in, let us say, Walter Lippmann, just how profound he was the day before. The reality peeped out in that Associated Press dispatch which reported that after delivering the message, Eisenhower was given the afternoon off to play golf, like a small boy allowed to go and play after doing his required stint at Sunday School. "His doctor and the whole White House staff told him to get out on the golf course," Presidential Press Secretary James C. Hagerty related, "and get some relaxation." For a man who hates to read as much as Eisenhower does, reading these 7800 words (aloud yet) must have been work enough for one day.

### Bureaucratic Shreds and Patches

The message appears to be a rather ill-organized patchwork of bits and pieces from various departments, nauseatingly larded with the wholly artificial religious sentiments now considered *de rigeur* in all American State papers and designed firmly to anchor God on our side in the cold war. The opening section sounded as if it came straight from the State Department; its self-righteous rhetoric is the kind to which we have been accustomed since 1947 and it is amazingly devoid of anything new. The next section must have been drafted in concert by two opposing wings at the Pentagon, with the Treasury as referee. It does at one point warn against "undue reliance on one weapon" (to keep the Army and Navy happy) but it pretty clearly reflects a decision to depend on nuclear weapons and airpower. The Treasury, therefore, wants to save on the Army and conventional weapons. Here Eisenhower is put up to speaking *in persona propria*, assuring Congress (where the Army lobbyists are stirring up a rumpus) that this "reduction of forces in certain categories" was made at his "personal direction after long and thoughtful study." This is supposed to scare off Congressmen.

### Never Had It So Good

Justice Department is next in the patchwork and "continuance of our aggressive attack on subversion at home" is promised. There follows a pep talk on business—we never had it so good, at least that's what Commerce Department seems to have said. Agriculture was allowed to insist on "flexible" prices; Labor was permitted to suggest a 90-cent minimum wage. Health and Welfare promises a new health plan but without "socialized medicine." Taft-Hartley is to be revised so that employers, too, must sign non-Communist affidavits and public power is to be watered down further via "partnership" with private enterprise. There are the usual words about small business. Something is promised on education, and a plea is again made for some lowering of tariffs. This is "New Dealish" only in the sense that it does not propose to turn back the clock, except stealthily on hydro-electric power. The idea that this will force the Democrats Left is equally nonsensical.

### As "New Dealish" as Dewey

"Eisenhower" is as much and no more to the Left than were Landon, Willkie and Dewey. In a two-party system, under normal conditions, both parties play as close to the center as possible. This leaves both the Republican Right and the Democratic Left dissatisfied but since they have nowhere else to go they exercise no leverage. At the moment, while the Republicans are thus "Left," the Democrats are "Right." In fact some of them are shopping around for a more conservative candidate than Stevenson. There is even talk of Lausche, a Taft Democrat (!) and a Catholic who might garner in disaffected Republicans and McCarthyites.

The Democrats will make capital in the West on power; keep mum on civil rights for Negroes; do nothing for labor; jump on Reds as hard as Republicans to prove their purity; exploit the discontent over the security program and at the same time kick up a fuss about cuts in the defense budget to show that the Republicans are the ones who are really "soft" about Communism. The country, generally as contented as the Borden cow, will take all this without a *moo* as long as business holds up. There may be a change in the spring, however, when the auto industry finds it just cannot sell all those new cars it is making.



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**The Papers Ignore the Story—the State Dept. Withholds the Tell-Tale Document**

# Dulles's Far Eastern Mission of Appeasement in 1938 Comes to Light

**Washington**—The latest volume of documents to be released here by the State Department on U.S. Foreign Relations discloses that John Foster Dulles went to China in 1938 on an "appeasement mission" which paralleled Axis efforts to make Chiang Kai-shek submit to Japan.

The volume (1938, Vol. III, the Far East) was generally covered by the press, but this revelation was ignored though it provides an ironic sidelight on the story the newspapers did feature. Attention was focussed by the headlines on a memorandum of July 23, 1938, in which John Carter Vincent warned that unless we helped Chiang Kai-shek resist we would ourselves be menaced by Japanese militarism.

Vincent's analysis in that memo proved prophetic. The irony lies in Vincent's dismissal by Dulles on the ground that Vincent's "reporting of the facts . . . and policy advice" did not meet Foreign Service standards. The new revelation shows that Dulles himself in his "reporting of the facts . . . and policy advice" on China was strikingly wrong. By this standard, it is Dulles rather than Vincent who should have resigned.

This is the background of the new documents. In July, 1937, with the "Marco Polo bridge incident" Japan invaded North China, demanding that Chiang's government suppress all anti-Japanese activity and "cooperate against Communism." By the end of the year, after massacres at Tientsin and Nanking which shocked world opinion, Japan had control of the China coast down to and including Shanghai.

## Japan Wanted a "Breather"

Civilian unrest in Japan led its military to seek a breathing space via "mediation" in which to digest the conquest of North China and turn the rest of China into a protectorate. "Tokyo sought through Nazi good offices," Frederick L. Schuman relates in his book *International Politics*, "to negotiate a peace with Chiang Kai-shek on the basis of Chinese repudiation of 'Communism' and of the Soviet non-aggression pact, recognition of [the Japanese puppet regime in] Manchukuo, payment of the costs of the war, and appointment of Japanese 'advisers'."

Berlin was also anxious to bring the hostilities in China to an end because, as our Ambassador, Nelson T. Johnson, cabled Secretary of State Hull on February 28, 1938, "A Germany involved with Soviet Russia can hope for little assistance from a Japan preoccupied with China" (p. 107 of the new volume).

The year 1938, with which the newly released documents deal, opened with two campaigns by Japan against China, one military, the other diplomatic. The former culminated in the capture of Hankow and Chiang's last outlets along the China coast. The latter sought through Berlin and later London to force Chiang to accept "mediation."

The U.S., which still declined to recognize the Japanese puppet regime in Manchuria, was opposed to any settlement which meant the dismemberment of China. In one of the newly published documents, Norman H. Davis informed the State Department that he had been approached in London by Yoshida [Japan's recent Prime Minister, then Ambassador to Britain] with a request that the U.S. "mediate."

The compromise suggested by Yoshida included not only recognition of Manchukuo but of a new puppet buffer state in North China. Davis told Yoshida he himself thought "the issue between China and Japan was so fundamental that it was not susceptible of a compromise" (p. 208).

## Dulles Turns Up in Hankow

Dulles seems to have felt differently. At pages 119-121 of the new volume there is disclosed for the first time a communication from Ambassador Johnson in Hankow reporting on a conversation he had on March 5, 1938, "with Mr. John Foster Dulles, well known writer and lawyer, on the subject of mediation." Johnson indicated that Dulles had come to China to see Chiang Kai-shek in the interest of a compromise settlement with Japan.

Nelson sent the Department a memorandum on this conversation with Dulles but the memorandum was not printed in the new volume. I spent several weeks attempting to get a look at this memo. First I was told it was "in the warehouse," later that it had been obtained and that I could read it. But the State Department press office first sent the document to Dulles's office for "clearance." Permission to read the memo was then refused. Since these documents are supposed to be available to scholars, perhaps some historian will try his luck at obtaining it.

The Japanese, as the new documents show, were trying to get Britain to force the Chinese to compromise with them. The British were reluctant to do anything without American approval. They were at the time negotiating the pact in which they tried to buy off Mussolini by recognizing his conquest of Ethiopia. Against this background it is interesting to note that Johnson reported:

## Envisioned a Squeeze on China

"The attention of the Department is invited to the view expressed by Mr. Dulles that, since the British government is on its way to a settlement of its differences with the Italian government over Mediterranean problems, it would soon be in a position to exert a firmer influence in the Far East *and might even compel the Chinese to accept some kind of settlement at the hands of the Japanese.*" (Italics added.)

The *New York Times* of March 7, 1938, carried a dispatch from Hankow saying that Dulles "denied that his visit was connected with an American loan to China, or had any political significance. He said," the cable reported, "that his presence in Hankow had no specific purpose other than to investigate the Chinese situation in the interest of his law firm and its clients . . ." Who these clients were was not disclosed.

The next day's paper carried a one-paragraph cable from Hankow, "Chiang Receives J. F. Dulles," which says "Nothing of special significance is said to have been discussed." Apparently the attempt to "mediate" had failed.

Some day a Congressional investigation may throw more light on this tantalizing episode. Dulles's general attitude toward Axis expansion before the war is notorious. In his famous pre-war debate with Willkie he denied that the U.S. had anything to fear from the Axis. As early as 1932 when American public opinion was aroused against the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, Dulles threw cold water on the idea of sanctions against Japan (see his contribution and Frederick J. Libby's in a symposium on the subject published in the July, 1932, issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.*)

Again, in his forgotten article on *The Road to Peace* in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October 1935, Dulles discussed the Manchurian situation from a "realistic" point of view and thought the changes required by realities in the Far East "could not be held in suspense until that hypothetical date when China was prepared freely to acquiesce therein so that the change could no longer be treated as 'aggression'." Putting "aggression" in quotation marks was indicative.

**STONE TO SPEAK IN NEW YORK**

**I. F. Stone will report on the new Congress and the outlook for the year at Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86th Street, New York City, under the auspices of the Yorkville Compass Forum next Friday night, January 21, at 8:30 p.m.**

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# Some Improvement in the Senate, But Not Much in the House

Though formal committee assignments had not yet been voted in the House as we went to press (and the interesting question of whether Dies would be re-assigned to House Un-American was still undecided), few surprises were expected. The only genuine liberal who will get a committee chairmanship is Celler, slated by seniority to head Judiciary. Walter of Pennsylvania should be an improvement over Velde at the head of House Un-American but it would be unwise to expect an abatement of the witch hunt. With Smith (of the Smith Act) back in the key post of Rules Committee chairman, the conservative and middle-of-the-road Southern Democrats firmly control the House.

In the Senate, however, nine of the 15 standing committee chairmanships last week went to liberal Democrats. The brightest spots are the replacement of Jenner by Green at Rules and of Alexander Smith by Lister Hill at Labor and Public Welfare. Murray of Montana gets Interior and Insular Affairs; Kilgore, Judiciary; Fulbright, Banking and Currency; Hayden, Appropriations; Magnuson, Interstate and Foreign Commerce; Chavez, Public Works; and Neely, District of Columbia. All these are decided improvements.

Six committee chairmanships, including some of the most important, go to conservative Southern Democrats. But here, too, there are welcome changes. McClellan succeeds McCarthy at Government Operations. Olin D. "Cotton Ed" Johnston takes over at Post Office and Civil Service. Ellender succeeds Aiken at Agriculture and Forestry. As a cotton Senator, he favors high support prices.

The three key chairmanships of Foreign Relations, Finance and Armed Services go to the real leaders of the party, George, Byrd and Russell, respectively. At the moment, when questions of foreign policy are uppermost, these key posts are safer in these conservative hands. Last year, when Knowland drew support from Democratic liberals, the Southern conservatives, especially Senator George, strengthened the President's hand against Radford and the interventionists. The thoughtful and well-informed George is a relief at Foreign Relations after the incredibly ignorant Wiley. George gave the London *Sunday Times* of January 9 an exclusive interview calling for reduced restrictions on (as he phrased it) both West-West and East-West trade.

**ATOM POWER FOR FARM CO-OPS?** Expect renewed battle over atomic power at this session of Congress. While AEC Chairman Strauss prepares to subsidize private ownership of atom power plants, the National Farmers Union will fight for legislation enabling REA (Rural Electrification Administration) co-ops to get in on atomic power as soon as possible. Leland Olds, former chairman of the Federal Power Commission, now with the Public Affairs Institute, figures that a publicly owned atom power plant could generate electricity at 4.2 to 4.4 mills per kilowatt hour, or less than half the cost of generating electricity from coal at Boston. Olds estimates wholesale delivery could be made to REA co-ops at 8.1 cents per KWH, or less than average costs in 24 states (where wholesale prices now range from 15.1 mills in Maine to 8.5 mills in Illinois). This is one of the issues on which a Democratic-controlled Congress will make a difference.

**NEW ARGUMENT FOR EAST-WEST TRADE:** At the moment the biggest talking point of these fighting for lower tariffs and the reciprocal trade program is the need to "save Japan for the free world," i.e. to compensate in the American market for lost markets in Communist China. American interests opposed to this program are in consequence beginning to look with favor on the easing of East-West trade as one way to keep out Japanese competition. Cotton textile interests north and south are pressing this argument. A brief on behalf of the New England governors opposing lower tariffs on Japanese textiles says (Con. Rec. 1/11/55, p. A93) "Japan will have to turn more to Asia and even the Iron Curtain countries for trade. With improved East-West relations this will be possible."

**WHEN IS AN ANTI-DEMOCRATIC MENACE NOT A MENACE?** When the Guatemalan government was supposed to be buying arms from abroad, the State Department unleashed a world-wide campaign to prevent shipments from reaching Guatemala. But when the right-wing dictator Somoza of Nicaragua bought twenty-five P-51 Mustang fighters in Sweden for use in the attack now being made against Costa Rica, the one truly democratic regime in Central America, the State Department's spokesman said there was nothing in the plane deal "to lead the United States to have an interest in the situation."

**JIM CROW PROGRESS AT NATIONAL PRESS CLUB:** Fourteen years ago I took America's first Negro Federal judge, William H. Hastie, to lunch at the National Press Club and resigned when he was refused service. Last Monday the club's board of directors voted tentatively to admit its first Negro member, Louis R. Lautier, of the *Atlanta Daily World* and the National Negro Press Association. A last-ditch fight against the Lautier nomination will be staged at the Club's general membership meeting this Friday. The by-laws at present allow ten members to blackball a new candidate if they assign "reasonable cause." Since anti-Negro prejudice might not be held "reasonable cause," the racists seek to amend the by-laws and remove this qualification. Ten members would then be able to block Lautier and keep the Club lily-white.

## Does He Suspect The White House?

**On January 5, J. Edgar Hoover released his annual report on crime. Sandwiched in amid the figures on bank robberies and automobile thefts was this, "The need for eternal vigilance against subversion by followers of the Communist party becomes more necessary with the world-wide rise of 'neutralism' and the intensified Soviet propaganda program of 'peaceful co-existence.' The Communist action program of the United States is being geared to cause a lowering of our guard which, if successful, could have far-reaching and disastrous consequences." It would be easy to dismiss this with a joke about tapping White House wires since our foremost advocate of co-existence seems to reside there. But what business is it of the secret police to mix into foreign policy? By what right does Hoover take it on himself to smear the world-wide movement for a relaxation of international tension as a Communist plot? Can discussion really be free when carried on under the shadow of FBI disapproval?**

## MOST SUBSCRIPTIONS EXPIRE WITH NEXT WEEK'S ISSUE

**Next week's issue will be Vol. II, No. 50, the final issue of our second circulation year. Unless you have already renewed, your subscription probably expires with that issue, since most of our subscribers date from the first of the circulation year. You can tell by noting the expiration date under your name and address. If you haven't renewed yet, I would appreciate it if you did it now, using the blank on the reverse side. Why not give a gift subscription at the same time—it only costs eight cents a week, $4 a year, to widen our audience in this way and help us reach a friend. An index for Volume II is in preparation and will be published soon as a supplement, like last year's. The index has made the *Weekly* more useful for reference and boosted subscriptions by libraries. Some of our largest university libraries now subscribe and have complete sets. Why not give a gift sub to your local or college library? There is much in the *Weekly*, small as it is, which is not to be found elsewhere.**

**—I. F. STONE**



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**How the Government's Informers "Ride Circuit" in Smith Act Cases**

# The Supreme Court Again Denies the Review It Promised

The moral cowardice which pervades our whole society was evident in the Supreme Court's refusal last week to grant a hearing in the appeal of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and 12 other so-called "second echelon" Communist leaders against their conviction for "conspiracy to advocate" under the Smith Act.

So far the Supreme Court has consented to review only one case and only one issue arising under the Smith Act. This was whether the government could validly enact a peacetime sedition statute. The Court, in the first Foley Square case, decided that the Smith Act was constitutional but declined at that time to pass on the other issues raised.

The Court clearly promised to do so, in future cases. "Where there is doubt," Chief Justice Vinson said (341 U.S. at 516) "as to the intent of the defendants, the nature of their activities, or their power to bring about this evil, this Court will review the convictions with the scrupulous care demanded by our Constitution."

Last year, however, the Court refused to hear the appeal of the Baltimore Smith Act defendants. This year it has turned down the appeal of Miss Flynn and her associates. The deterioration in the atmosphere is evident in the fact that while both Douglas and Black noted their disagreement last year, this year only Black dissented.

More than a hundred persons have been indicted under the Smith Act since the *Dennis* case was decided by the Supreme Court. Appeals are pending from mass convictions in Philadelphia, St. Louis and Hawaii. Others are awaiting trial in Denver, New Haven, Cleveland and Puerto Rico. In a petition asking the Court to hear the *Flynn* case, a group of lawyers representing various of these defendants eloquently described the way these cases are being tried:

## Circuit-Riding Informers

"The prosecution presents its case through a series of informers who proceed from trial to trial presenting the same testimony. These informers are supplemented by local informers. The 'national' informers are usually cast in the role of 'experts.' They expound in case after case their version of the meaning of Marxist-Leninist theory . . .

"The systematic use of these witnesses, subject as they are in political cases to extraordinary pressures to distort, steadily to expand the scope of their recall to meet prosecutive needs, and to misrepresent, has reached proportions which seriously compromise the administration of justice . . .

"Moreover many of the informers have no personal familiarity with the defendants in these cases and are unable to testify as to their teaching and advocacy . . . In the same way scant heed is paid in the trial of these cases to the proof necessary to establish each defendant's connection with the conspiracy."

These cases, in short, are breaking down traditional safeguards of proof and procedure which have hitherto restricted the prosecution of political ideas. The courts no longer insist on proof of specific individual intent, nor judicial determination of whether a "clear and present" danger exists in sufficient degree to warrant suspension of the First Amendment. Congress in effect is held to have outlawed the Communist party. To be a Communist is to qualify for jail whether or not there was intent or power to overthrow the government.

## And Now Membership

There was therefore a nice historic logic in the fact that the day the Court again refused to review the Smith Act "conspiracy" cases, Claude Lightfoot went on trial in Chicago in the first of a new series of Smith Act prosecutions. These are based solely on membership and rest on the reading of the Act as a pure and simple outlawry statute.

The liberals who look the other way rather than risk defending the rights of Communists will have a bitter awakening, like that which they have experienced under the loyalty and security procedures. For the day is coming when non-Communists, too, can and will be prosecuted under the Smith Act. Future Ladejinskys will go to jail. The prosecution of men for their opinion alone—whether disguised as "conspiracy to advocate" or facilitated by group convictions under the "membership" clause—is a cancer which must be excised or it will destroy the living tissue of a free society. The liberals, on or off the bench, know this very well but are afraid to act upon it.

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